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Justin Winsor

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THE
RESULTS IN EUROPE
OF
CARTIER'S EXPLORATIONS.

BY

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1542-1603.

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CARTIER'S EXPLORATIONS.

THE results of Cartier's explorations came slowly to the knowledge of contemporary cartographers. In the year of Cartier's return from his second voyage (1536), Alonso de Chaves, the official cosmographer of Spain, made a plot of the North American coast. Although the Spaniards were keeping close watch on the northern explorations of their rivals, it is apparent that Chaves had not heard of Cartier's movements. This map of Chaves is not preserved; but there is a map by Gutierrez (1550), known to us, which is held to be based on Chaves. This Gutierrez map gives no trace of the French voyages; nor does Oviedo, the Spanish historian, who wrote the next year (1537) with Chaves's map before him, give us any ground for discrediting the map of Gutierrez as indicating the features of that by Chaves. The next year (1538), the rising young Flemish map-maker, Gerard Mercator, made his earliest map, which shows that no tidings of the Cartier voyages had yet reached the Low Countries. He did not even recognize the great Square Gulf, which had appeared in the Ptolemy of 1511, as premonitory of the Gulf which Cartier had circumnavigated, though three years later Mercator affords a faint suspicion of it in his gores of 1541.

We do not find any better information in the best of the contemporary cosmographers. Münster in Germany (1540) widened a little the passage which severed Newfoundland from the main, and so did the Italian Vopellio; but Ulpius, making the globe at Rome, in 1542, which is now owned by the New York Historical Society, seems not to have been even thus imperfectly informed. The French globe-maker, who not far from the same time made the sphere preserved at

Nancy, knew only enough to make a group of islands beyond the Newfoundland banks.

We turn to something more intimately connected with Cartier's own work. It might go without saying that Cartier would plot his own tracks; but we have no written evidence that he did, other than a letter of his grand-nephew fifty years later, who says that he himself had inherited one such map. We must look to three or four maps, made within five years of Cartier's last voyage, and which have come down to us, to find how the last charts of Cartier affected cartographical knowledge in certain circles in France, and placed the geography of the St. Lawrence on a basis which was not improved for sixty years.

Those who have compared the early maps find the oldest cartographical record which we have of Cartier's first voyage (1534) in a document by Jean Rotz, dated eight years later, and preserved in the British Museum. HARRISSE thinks that back of this Rotz map there is another, known as the HARLEYAN mappemonde, which is deposited in the same collection. But the draft by Rotz is the better known of the two. Its designer is held to be a Frenchman, which may account for his acquaintance with Malouin sources. This "Booke of Idrography," as Rotz calls it, contains two maps which interest us. One shows the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the opening into the river, which indicates an acquaintance with the extent of Cartier's first explorations (1534), and may well have been made some years before the date of the manuscript which contains it. If its outline is interpreted correctly, in making Anticosti a peninsula connecting with the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River, it is a further proof that a foggy distance prevented Cartier from suspecting that he was crossing the main channel of the St. Lawrence, when he sailed from Gaspé to the Anticosti shores. The other map may be nearer the date of the manuscript, for it carries the river much farther from the gulf, and indicates a knowledge of Cartier's second voyage.

Two years later (1544) there was the first sign in an engraved map of Cartier's success, — the now famous Cabot mappemonde, — and this was a year before any narrative of his second voyage was printed. As but a single copy is known of both map and narrative, it is possible that the publication was not welcome to the government, and the editions of the two were

suppressed as far as could be. The solitary map was found in Germany, and is now in the great library at Paris. The sole copy of the "Bref Récit," published at Paris in 1545, is in the British Museum, among the books which Thomas Grenville collected.

To test this published narrative, scholars have had recourse to three manuscripts, preserved in the Paris Library; varying somewhat, and giving evidence that before the text was printed, it had circulated in hand-written copies, all made apparently by the same penman. It was probably from the printed text that both Hakluyt and Ramusio made their versions to be published at a later day.

The suppression, if there was such, of the Cabot map is more remarkable; for this Paris copy is the only one which has come down to us out of several editions — HARRISSE says four — in which it appeared. This multiplicity of issue is inferred from the description of copies varying, but it is not sure whether these changes indicate anything more than tentative conditions of the plates. That the map embodies some conception of the Cartier explorations is incontestable. It gives vaguely a shape to the gulf conformable to Cartier's track, and makes evident the course of the great tributary, as far as Cartier explored it. There are many signs in this part of the map, however, that Cartier's own plot could not have been used at first hand, and the map in its confused nomenclature and antiquated geographical notions throughout indicates that the draft was made by a 'prentice hand. The profession of one of its legends — of late critically set forth from the study of them by Dr. Deane in our Proceedings (February, 1891) — that Sebastian Cabot was its author, is to be taken with much modification. The map is at least an indication that the results of Cartier's voyages had within a few years become in a certain sense public property. It happens that most of what we know respecting the genesis of the map is from English sources, or sources which point to England; but the map, it seems probable, was made in Flanders, and not in France, nor in Spain, the country with which Cabot's official standing connected him. It looks very much like a surreptitious publication, which, to avoid the scrutiny of the Spanish Hydrographical Office, had been made beyond their reach, while an anonymous publication of it protected

the irresponsible maker or makers from official annoyance. This may account for its rarity, and perhaps for the incompleteness of its information.

Better information, mixed apparently with some knowledge derived from the Portuguese voyages, — and certainly chronicling Portuguese discoveries in other parts of the globe, — and so presenting some but not great differences, appears in another map of about the same date, known as the Nicholas Vallard map. When Dr. Kohl brought it anew to the attention of scholars, it was in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in England; but there is reason to suppose that not far from the date of its making, it had been owned in Dieppe. The maker of it may have profited directly from French sources, particularly in the embellishment upon it, which seems to represent events in Roberval's experiences.

There is, likewise, another map of this period which is still more intimately connected with Cartier's movements; indeed, it can hardly have been made independently of material which he furnished. This is the one fashioned by the order of the king for the Dauphin's instruction, just before the latter succeeded his father as Henry II. A few years ago Mr. Major, of the British Museum, deciphered a legend upon it, which showed that it was the handiwork of Pierre Desceliers, a Dieppe map-maker then working at Arques. This fact, as well as its official character, brings it close to the prime sources; and the map may even identify these sources in the representations of Roberval and his men, as they are grouped on the banks of the St. Lawrence. I am informed by the present owner, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, that an attempt at one time to efface the legend which discloses its authorship has obscured but has not destroyed the lettering. The map formerly belonged to Jomard, the geographer.

There are only the sketch maps of Allefonsce which can be traced nearer the explorers themselves than the maps already mentioned. What this pilot of Roberval drew on the spot we know not, but he attempted, in 1545, in a rude way to draw upon his experiences in a little treatise. This manuscript "Cosmographie," in which the coast-lines are washed in at the top of its sheets, is preserved in the National Library at Paris. Several modern writers have used them, and the sketches have been more than once copied. Bibliographers know better, how-

ever, a little chapbook, which ran through at least four editions in the interval before new interest in Canada was awakened by Champlain. It was first published in 1559 after the death of Allefonsce; and his name, which appears in the title "Les voyages aventureux du Capitaine Alfonse Saintongeois," was apparently made prominent to help the sale of the book, rather than to indicate the intimate connection of the redoubtable pilot with it. His manuscript "Cosmographie" had been prepared by himself for the royal eye, while this printed production, which was issued at Poitiers, was dressed up by others for the common herd, without close adherence to the manuscript. A popular local bard sets forth pretty much all we know of its hero in some preliminary verses. Like all chapbooks, the little volume has become rare; and when a copy was sold in Dr. Court's collection (1885), it was claimed that only three copies had been sold in France in thirty years.

The most prolific map-maker of this period in Europe was Baptista Agnese of Venice. He had a deft hand, which made his *portolanos* merchantable. The dexterity of their drawing has perhaps enhanced their value enough to prevent careless use of them, so that they are not infrequent in Italian libraries, and will be found in almost all the large collections in Europe. One certainly has found its way to America, and is preserved in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. Though Agnese was making these maps for over a quarter of a century, beginning about the time of Cartier's activity, he never much varied from the conventional types which successively marked the stages of geographical knowledge. He has hardly a map which can be accounted a turning-point in American geography, and his drafts simply follow the prevailing notions.

Thus it was that for sixteen years after Cartier and Roberval had finished their work, the French public was made acquainted only with the "Bref Récit" and the scant narrative to which the popularity of Allefonsce's name had given a forced currency. The European scholar fared better than the provincial Frenchman; for the third volume of the "Raccolta" of Ramusio, which was devoted wholly to American discovery, had appeared in Venice in 1556. It is a chief source still to be consulted for the earliest explorations of the St. Lawrence region. It is here that we find an account of that "Gran Capitano," identified with the Dieppese navigator, Jean Parmentier, who

visited the Baccalaos region in the early years of that century. Here, too, we derive a scant knowledge of Denys and Aubert, as already mentioned. But it is concerning the first voyage of Cartier that Ramusio helps us most. Where he got his records of that enterprise of 1534, it is not easy to conjecture, and what he says remained for a long while the sum of all that was known concerning it. That there were originally several manuscript texts of this narrative, varying enough in the copying to make differences that became distinguishable, appears to be certain; but it is not so easy to trace them distinctively in the various printed texts which have been published. The text in Ramusio was without doubt used by John Florio in making the early English translation (London, 1580), which is the source of most that has appeared in that language respecting the voyage. A Norman publisher at Rouen printed a French text, and it is not quite certain that he used Ramusio. It has been suspected that, in pretending to make a translation, this editor may possibly have used an official narrative, and that his pretence was intended to conceal a surreptitious use of a forbidden paper. When Tross reprinted this little book (Paris, 1865), he could find only one copy, and that was in the great Paris Library; but Harrissee later discovered a copy in the Ste. Genevieve Library. The fact that the book has nearly passed out of sight might indicate, as with the "Bref Récit," that there was either a suppression of it or an inordinately hard use of it by readers. Two years after publishing this "Discours du Voyage" (1867), Tross surprised the critics by publishing a "Relation originale," as if it were Cartier's own narrative of this first voyage. The arguments of Michelant, the editor, in supporting this view of its authenticity are strong, but hardly conclusive. This precious manuscript was discovered in the Paris Library in 1867, having previously escaped notice.

In the year before the appearance of the American section of Ramusio, and probably two years after that Italian editor had gathered his material, the Spanish historian, Gomara, showed in his "Historia General" (Saragossa, 1555), that intelligence of Cartier's exploits had reached him in some confused form. Indeed, Gomara is rarely critical in what he offers. It will be remembered that Cartier had given the name of "Sainet Laurens" to a small estuary in the gulf, and

it has never been quite established when the same name gained currency as the appellation of the gulf itself, and of the great river of Canada. Nevertheless Gomara writes in 1555, or perhaps a year earlier, that "a great river called San Lorenzo, which some think an arm of the sea [*i. e.* leading to Cathay] has been sailed up for two hundred leagues, and is called by some the Strait of the Three Brothers."

We may consider that from the Rotz, Vallard, Cabot, and Desceliers maps, pretty nearly all the ground that Cartier's own maps could have disclosed is deducible by the careful student, and that a large part of our history of this obscure period is necessarily derived from such studies. Now, what was the effect of these cartographical records upon the maps of the St. Lawrence for the rest of that century?

This question brings us to consider nearly all the leading European cartographers of the sixteenth century, to whatever maritime peoples they belong. The most famous and learned of the German cosmographers, Sebastian Münster, contented himself with insularizing a region which he associated with the earlier Cortereal. Pedro Medina, the leading Spanish writer on seamanship, in his "Arte de Navegar," and in other books, for a score of years after this, used a map on which there was merely a conventional gulf and river. Baptista Agnese was continuing to figure the coast about Newfoundland in absolute ignorance of the French discoveries of ten years before.

We are in 1546 first introduced to Giacomo Gastaldi, a Venetian map-maker of reputation throughout Italy. He gives us a map which was included in Lafreri's atlas. It looks like a distinct recognition of Cartier, in a long river which flows into a bay behind an island. This is the more remarkable because, when he was employed two years later to make the maps for the Venetian edition of Ptolemy (1548), he reverted to the old pre-Cartier notions of an archipelago and rudimentary rivers.

When Ramusio was gathering his American data at this time, he depended on an old friend, Frascastoro, to supply the illustrative maps. This gentleman, now in advanced years, was living on his estate near Verona, and in correspondence with geographical students throughout Europe. Oviedo had sent some navigator's charts to him from Spain, and

Ramusio tells us that similar information had come to him from France relative to the discoveries in New France. These charts, placed by Frascastoro in Ramusio's hands, were by this editor committed to Gastaldi. The result was the general map of America which appears in the third volume of the "Raccolta." This map is singularly inexpressive for the Baccalaos region. Something more definite is revealed in another map, more confined in its range. A study of this last map makes one feel as if the rudimentary rivers of the Ptolemy map (1548) had suggested a network of rivers, stretching inland. It has one feature in the shoals about Sable Island so peculiar and so closely resembling that feature in Rotz's map, that Gastaldi must have worked with that map before him, or he must have used the sources of that map. With this exception there is absolutely nothing in the map showing any connection with the cartography of the Cartier-Roberval expedition. These features stand, in fact, for earlier notions, and are made to illustrate the narrative of the "Gran Capitano."

There is a Portuguese map by Johannes Freire, which must have been based on Cartier's second voyage, for it leaves undeveloped the west coast of Newfoundland, which Cartier followed in 1534. Another Portuguese map, which at one time was owned by Jomard, shows acquaintance with both the first and second voyages of Cartier, as does the Portuguese atlas, with French leanings, which is preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, and is ascribed to Guillaume le Testu. A popular map by Bellerio, used in various Antwerp publications of this period, utterly ignores the French discoveries.

The map of Homem in 1558 is an interesting one. It is in an atlas of this Portuguese hydrographer, preserved in the British Museum. It is strongly indicative of independent knowledge, but whence it came is not clear. He worked in Venice, a centre of such knowledge at this time; and Homem's map is a proof of the way in which nautical intelligence failed to establish itself in the Atlantic seaports, but rather found recognition for the benefit of later scholars in this Adriatic centre. It is in this map, for instance, that we get the earliest recognizable plotting of the Bay of Fundy. But with all his alertness, the material which Ramusio had already used respecting Cartier's first voyage seems to have escaped him, or

perhaps Homem failed to understand that navigator's track where it revealed the inside coast of Newfoundland. What he found in any of the accounts of the Cartier voyages to warrant his making the north bank of the St. Lawrence an archipelago skirting the Arctic Sea, is hard to say; but Homem is not the only one who developed this notion. We have seen that Allefonsce believed that the Saguenay conducted to such a sea, and there are other features of that pilot's sketches which are consonant with such a view; while a network of straits and channels pervading this Canadian region is a feature of some engraved maps at a considerably later day. Homem living in Venice most probably was in consultation with Ramusio, and may have had access to the store of maps which Frascastoro submitted to Gastaldi. Indeed Ramusio intimates, in the introduction to his third volume, that this Canadian region may yet be found to be cut up into islands, and he says that the reports of Cartier had left this uncertainty in his mind. The stories which Cartier had heard of great waters lying beyond the points he had reached, had doubtless something to do with these fancies of the map-makers.

When the learned Italian Ruscelli printed his translation of Ptolemy at Venice (1561), he added his own maps, for he was a professional cartographer. He also apparently profited by Ramusio's introduction to the collection of Frascastoro; for the map which he gave of "Tierra nueva" reverted to the same material of the pre-Cartier period which had been used by Gastaldi, showing that he either was ignorant of the claims of Cartier's discoveries or that he rejected them. Ruscelli clung to this belief pertinaciously, and never varied his map in successive editions for a dozen years; and during this interval Agnese (1564) and Porcacchi (1572) copied him.

We have two maps in 1566 in which the Cartier voyages are recognized, but in quite different ways. The map of Nicolas des Liens of Dieppe was acquired by the great library of Paris in 1857, and the visitor there to-day can see it under glass in the geographical department. It is very pronounced in the record of Cartier; for his name is displayed along the shore of a broad sound, which is made to do duty for the St. Lawrence. The other is the map of Zaltière, with an inscription, in which the author claims to have received late information from the French. In this map the St. Lawrence is merely

a long waving line, and the river is made to flow on each side of a large island into a bay studded with islands.

Three or four years later we come to the crowning work of Gerard Mercator in his great planisphere of 1569; and a year later to the atlas of the famous Flemish geographer who did so much to revolutionize cartography, — Abraham Ortelius. The great bay has now become, with Mercator, the Gulf of St. Lawrence (*Sinus Laurentii*); but the main river is left without a name, and is carried far west beyond Hochelaga (Montreal) to a water-shed, which separates the great interior valley of the Continent from the Pacific slope. Here was what no one had before attempted in interpretation of the vague stories which Cartier had heard from the Indians. Mercator makes what is apparently the Ottawa open a water-way, as Cartier could have fancied it, when he gazed from the summit of Mont Royale. This passage carried the imagination into the great country of the Saguenay, which the Indians told of, as bounding on a large body of fresh water. It seems easy to suppose that this was an interpretation of that route which in the next generation conducted many a Jesuit to the Georgian Bay, and so developed the upper lakes long before the shores of Lake Erie were comprehended. Not one of the earlier maps had divined this possible solution of Cartier's problem; and Mercator did it, so far as we can now see, with nothing to aid him but a study of Cartier's narrative, or possibly of Cartier's maps or data copied from them. It was one of those feats of prescience through comparative studies which put that Flemish geographer at the head of his profession. By a similar insight he was the first to map out a great interior valley to the continent, separated from the Atlantic slope by a mountainous range that could well stand for the Alleghanies. Dr. Kohl suggests that Mercator might have surmised this eastern water-shed of the great interior valley, by studying the reports of De Soto in his passage to the Mississippi, during the very year when Cartier and Roberval were developing the great northern valley. There was yet no conception of the way in which these two great valleys so nearly touched at various points that the larger was eventually to be entered from the lesser.

Before Mercator's death (1594) he felt satisfied that the great mass of fresh water, to which the way by the Ottawa

pointed, connected with the Arctic seas. This he made evident by his globe-map of 1587. Earlier, in 1570, he had conveniently hidden the uncertainty by partly covering the limits of such water by a vignette. Hakluyt in the same year (1587) thought it best to leave undefined the connections of such a fresh-water sea. The map-makers struggled for many years over this uncertain northern lake, which Mercator had been the first to suggest from Cartier's data. Ortelius also (1570, 1575, etc.) was induced to doubt the fresh character of this sea, and made it a mere gulf of the Arctic Ocean, stretched toward the south. In this he was followed by Popellinière (1582), Gallæus (1585), Münster (1595), Linschoten (1598), Bottero (1603), and others. It is fair to observe, however, that Ortelius in one of his maps (1575) has shunned the conclusion, and Metellus (1600) was similarly cautious when he used the customary vignette to cover what was doubtful. There was at the same time no lack of believers in the fresh-water theory, as is apparent in the map of Judæis (1593), DeBry (1596), Wytfliet (1597), and Quadus (1600), not to name others. These theorizers, while they connected it with a salt northern sea, made current for a while the name of Lake Conibas, as applied to the fresh-water basin. This body of water seemed in still later maps after Hudson's time to shift its position, and was merged in the great bay discovered by that navigator. It was not till a suggestion appeared in one of the maps of the Arnheim Ptolemy of 1597, made more emphatic by Molineaux in 1600, that this fitting interior sea was made to be the source of the St. Lawrence, while it was at the same time supposed to have some outlet in the Arctic Ocean. The great interior lakes were then foreshadowed in the "Lacke of Tadenac, the bounds whereof are unknown," as Molineaux's legend reads.

The English indeed had become active in this geographical quest very shortly after Mercator and Ortelius had well established their theories in the public mind. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had not indeed penetrated this region; but when he published his map in 1576 he had helped to popularize a belief in a multitudinous gathering of islands in what was now called the land of Canada. Frobisher's explorations were farther to the north, and his map (1578) professed that in these higher latitudes there was a way through the continent.

Hakluyt, in his "Westerne Planting," tells us that the bruit of Frobisher's voyage had reached Ortelius, and had induced that geographer to come to England in 1577, "to pry and looke into the secretes of Frobisher's Voyadge." Hakluyt further says that this "greate geographer" told him at this time "that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Countries had meant to have discovered those partes of America and the northweste strait before this tyme." Hakluyt had it much at heart to invigorate an English spirit of discovery, and the treatise just quoted was written for that purpose. "Yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge," he says, "the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons or the Duche or some other nation will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, though we had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them." It is not easy to satisfy one's self as to what Hakluyt refers, when he implies that previous to Cartier's voyage there had been English books making reference to the St. Lawrence Gulf. Modern investigators have indeed in English books found only the scantiest mention of American explorations before Eden printed his translation of Münster in 1553, nearly twenty years after Cartier's first voyage. The late Dr. Charles Deane in commenting on Hakluyt's words could give no satisfactory explanation of what seems to be their plain meaning.

The year before Hakluyt wrote this sentence he had given up an intention of joining in Gilbert's last expedition, and had gone to Paris (1583) as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford. While in that city we find him busy with "diligent inquiries of such things as may yeeld any light unto our westerne discoverie," making to this end such investigations as he could respecting current and contemplated movements of the Spanish and French. In this same essay on "Westerne Planting" Hakluyt drew attention to what he understood Cartier to say of a river that can be followed for three months "southwarde from Hochelaga." Whether this refers to some Indian story of a way by Lake Champlain and the Hudson, or to the longer route from the Iroquois country to the Ohio and Mississippi, may be a question; if indeed it may not mean that the St. Lawrence itself bent towards the south and found its rise in a warmer clime, as the

cartographers who were contemporaries of Hakluyt made it. Hakluyt further translates what Cartier makes Donnacona and other Indians say of these distant parts where the people are "clad with clothes as wee [the French] are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said firste ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguytay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and othe ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, as they have hearde say of those of Saguenay, there was never man hearde of, that founde vnto the begynnyng and ende thereof." Here is the warrant that Mercator and his followers found for their sea of sweet water. Hakluyt adds: "In the Frenche originall, which I sawe in the Kinges library at Paris, yt is further put downe, that Donnacona, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traueled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had." Hakluyt, with the tendency of his age, could not help associating this prolonged passage with a new way to Cathay, and he cites in support "the iudgmente of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, in a letter of his," which his son had shown to Hakluyt, saying, "There is no doubt but there is a streighte and shorte waye open unto the west, even to Cathaio." Hakluyt then closes his list of reasons for believing in this ultimate passage by adding, in the words of Ramusio, that "if the Frenchmen in this their Nova Francia woulde have discovered upp farther into the lande towards the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio."

Before Hakluyt published any map of his own, there were two English maps which became prominent. In 1580 Dr. John Dee presented to Queen Elizabeth a map which is preserved in the British Museum. It has nothing to distinguish it from the other maps of the time, which show a St. Lawrence River greatly prolonged. The second map was far more distinctive and more speculative. Ruscelli in 1561 and Martines in 1578 had represented the country south of the Lower St. Lawrence as an island, with a channel on the west of it, connecting the Atlantic with the great river of Canada. This view was embodied by Master Michael

Lok in this other map, in union with other prevalent notions already mentioned, of a neighboring archipelago between the St. Lawrence and the Arctic waters. In this way Lok made the great river rather an ocean inlet than an affluent of the gulf. Hakluyt adopted this map in his little "Divers Voyages" (1582) to illustrate an account of the voyage of Verrazano, and curiously did so, because there is no trace of Verrazano in the map except the great western sea, which had long passed into oblivion with other cartographers.

When Hakluyt again came before the public in an edition of the eight decades of Peter Martyr's "De orbe novo," which he printed at Paris in 1587, he added a map bearing the initials "F. G." This map may be supposed to embody the conclusions which Hakluyt had reached after his years of collecting material. He had, as we have seen, already reviewed the field in his "Westerne Planting," where he had adopted the Mercator theory of the access by the Ottawa to the great fresh-water lake of the Indian tales.

Jacques Noël, a grand-nephew of Cartier, writing from St. Malo in 1587, refers to this F. G. map of Hakluyt, as putting down "the great lake" of Canada much too far to the north to be in accordance with one of Cartier's maps which he professed to have. This Noël had been in the country, and reported the Indians as saying that the great lake was ten days above the rapids (near Montreal). He had been at the rapids, and reported them to be in 44° north latitude.

In 1590 Hakluyt was asking Ortelius, through a relative of the Antwerp geographer then living in London, to publish a map of the region north of Mexico and towards the Arctic seas. Ortelius signified his willingness to do so, if Hakluyt would furnish the data. In the same year the English geographer wrote to Ortelius at Antwerp, urging him, if he made a new map, to insert "the strait of the Three Brothers in its proper place, as there is still hope of discovering it some day, and we may by placing it in the map remove the error of those cosmographers who do not indicate it." It is apparent, by Hakluyt's accompanying drawing, that he considered the "Fretum trium fratrum" to be in latitude 70° north.

There was a temptation to the geographer to give a striking character to the reports or plots of returned navigators. Mercator compliments Ortelius on his soberness in using such plots,

and complains that geographical truth is much corrupted by map-makers, and that those of Italy are specially bad.

The maps that succeeded, down to the time when Champlain made a new geography for the valley of the St. Lawrence, added little to the conceptions already mastered by the chief cartographers. The idea of the first explorers that America was but the eastern limits of Asia may be said to have vanished at the same time; for the map of Myritius of near this date (1587, 1590) is perhaps the last of the maps to hold to the belief.

While all this speculative geography was forming and disappearing with an obvious tendency to a true conception of the physical realities of the problem, there was scarcely any attempt made to help solve the question by exploration. There was indeed a continuance of the fishing voyages of the Normans and Bretons to the banks, and the fishermen ran into the inlets near the Gulf to dry their fish and barter trinkets with the natives for walrus tusks; but we find no record of any one turning the point of Gaspé and going up the river. There was at the same time no official patronage of exploration. The politics of France were far too unquiet. Henry II. had as much as he could do to maintain his struggles with Charles V. and Philip II. St. Quentin and Gravelines carried French chivalry down to the dust. The persecution of the Protestants in the brief reign of Francis II., the machinations of Catharine de' Medici and the supremacy of the Guises kept attention too constantly upon domestic hazards to permit the government to glance across the sea. All efforts under Charles IX. to secure internal peace were but transient. Every interval of truce between the rival religions only gave opportunities for new conspiracies. The baleful night of St. Bartholomew saw thirty thousand Huguenots plunged into agony and death. The wars of the League which followed were but a prolonged combat for Huguenot existence. Henry III. during fifteen years of blood played fast and loose with both sides. Henry IV. fought at Arques and Ivry to preserve his crown, and abjured his faith in the end as a better policy to the same end. At last these tumultuous years yielded to the promulgation of the famous edict at Nantes (April 15,

1598), and in the rest which came later the times grew ripe for new enterprises beyond the sea.

We have seen that it was to the labors of Hakluyt and Ramusio during these sixty years that we owe a large part of the current knowledge of what were then the last official expeditions to Canada. That private enterprise did not cease to connect the French ports with the fishery and trade of the gulf and its neighboring ports is indeed certain, though Garneau speaks of this interval as that of a temporary abandonment of Canada. Gosselin and other later investigators have found entries made of numerous local outfits for voyages from Honfleur and other harbors. Such mariners never, however, so far as we know, contemplated the making of discoveries. Old fishermen are noted as having grown gray in forty years' service on the coast; and there is reason to believe that during some seasons as many as three or four hundred fishing-crafts may have dipped to their anchors hereabouts, and half of them French. Some of them added the pursuit of trade, and chased the walrus. Breton babies grew to know the cunning skill which in leisure hours was bestowed by these mariners on the ivory trifles which amused their households. Norman maidens were decked with the fur which their brothers had secured from the Esquimaux. Parkman found, in a letter of Menendez to Philip of Spain, that from as far south as the Potomac Indian canoes crawled northward along the coast, till they found Frenchmen in the Newfoundland waters to buy their peltries. Bréard has of late, in his "Marine Normande," thrown considerable light upon these fishing and trading voyagers, but there is no evidence of their passing into the great river.

Once, indeed, it seemed as if the French monarch, who had occasionally sent an armed vessel to protect his subjects in this region against the English, Spanish, and Portuguese, awoke to the opportunities that were passing; and in 1577 he commissioned Troilus du Mesgonez, Marquis de la Roche, to lead a colony to Canada, and the project commanded the confidence of the merchants of Rouen, Caen, and Lisieux. Captain J. Carleill, writing in 1583, in his "Entended Voyage to America," tells us that the French were trying to overcome the distrust of the Indians, which the kidnapping exploits of Cartier had implanted. Whether any such fear of the native

animosity stood in the way of La Roche's enterprise or not, is not evident; but certain it is, that he did not sail, and the king remained without a representative on the St. Lawrence. This sovereign gave, however, in 1588, in requital of claims made by the heirs of Cartier for his unrewarded services, a charter to two of that navigator's nephews, Etienne Charton and Jacques Noël, in which he assigned to them for twelve years the right to trade for furs and to work mines, with the privilege of a commercial company. The grant was made partly to enable the heirs to carry out Cartier's injunctions to his descendants not to abandon the country of Canada.

Such reserved privileges were a blow to the merchants of St. Malo, and they drew the attention of the Breton parliament to the monopoly in such a way that the king found it prudent to rescind the charter, except so far as to mine at Cap de Conjugon. No one knows where that cape was, or that any mining was done there. So a second royal project came to naught.

It would have been better if the first expedition that really got off had never started. A few years later La Roche, who had had much tribulation since his last luckless effort, was commissioned (Jan. 12, 1590) to lead once more a colony to the St. Lawrence. By this act that king revived the powers which Francis I. had conferred on Roberval. Chartering two vessels and, in default of better colonists, filling them with convicts, La Roche sailed west and made Sable Island. Such portion of his company as he did not need while exploring for a site, he landed on this desert spot, not without raising the suspicion that he did not dare to land them on the mainland, for fear of their deserting him. While searching for a place to settle, heavy gales blew his exploring ships out to sea, and back to France. Those whom he had abandoned at Sable Island were not rescued till 1603, when twelve had died.

This is the last scene of that interval which we have been considering; but in the near future other spirits were to animate New France, in the persons of Pontgravé, Champlain, and their associates, and a new period of exploration was to begin.



